

Palestine Perspectives

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NONALIGNED NATIONS SUPPORT PALESTINE

Editorial Editorial Editorial

IN THIS ISSUE

FORUM

- Exploitation of Palestinian Workers 2
Unemployment Haunts Palestinians 3

PLO NEWS AND VIEWS

- Arafat at Nonaligned Summit 5

LIFE UNDER OCCUPATION

- Illegal Health Care? 7
Palestinian Public Opinion Poll 8
Nazareth Clergyman Forbidden Travel 9

WASHINGTON WATCH

- Israeli "War Criminal" in Washington 10
Israel Raids U.S. Military Technology 11
Arab-Americans Harassed by Israel 12

WORLD VIEW

- Israel: South Africa's Trojan Horse 13

BACK COVER

- Racism in Israel: Handled with Care 15

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ON BEING REALISTIC

Immediately after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the evacuation of PLO forces in 1982, it became stylish in this country to say that "now that the PLO is no longer a military factor, and has become a political organization, it has become possible to deal with it." Leaving aside the faulty premise behind this view, the fact is that it became quickly clear that the assault on the Palestinians was politically—rather than militarily—motivated. **The military strike against the PLO was only a prelude to the liquidation of the political rights of the Palestinian people.**

When the PLO proved to be more resilient than its adversaries anticipated (because they deceived themselves about it), their true motives surfaced and they unleashed a new offensive to undermine the PLO as a political reality in the Middle East. This objective is being sought in two related ways: one, by pressuring the PLO to take political positions inimical to the interests and rights of its constituency, and two, by encouraging other Arab parties to usurp the PLO's role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians and the articulator of their interests.

The problem with such a policy is that it tries to achieve the unachievable. It only impedes the search for a just peace and causes more sorrow for all the people of the Middle East. The peace process and its intended beneficiaries are the victims of this fantasy.

Although it has been said many times before by all sorts of people who have an idea about the situation in the Middle East it still needs repeating: the secret of the PLO's survivability and viability is not nor has it ever been its military prowess, but its authenticity as spokesman for one of the parties.

This is not to argue that the Palestinians cannot be suppressed, bypassed, intimidated, or otherwise "absentified" from the scene. A "peace process" can be imposed which ignores the Palestinians...even the Arabs as a whole. The prevailing regional balance of power makes that possible. But the result will be a *diktat*, not peace. We trust that the difference between them is widely understood. The former has no moral validity and therefore obligates no one in the future.

If it is a *diktat* that is being sought in the Middle East, then the ongoing assault against the PLO makes sense. It becomes rational policy. But if it is peace that is desired, then the assault on the PLO makes no sense, and is irrational in the extreme.

The U.S. has been preaching for years the need for the Arabs to be "realistic" and "practical" in their expectations. Good advice, no doubt. But because it is sound advice, all of the parties need to heed it.

It is unrealistic and impractical to expect the Palestinians to accept what no other people accept: to bow out of history to satisfy the appetites of others. Until this simple and empirical fact is understood by the peacemakers, they will have no one but themselves to blame for their fruitless efforts. Looking for scapegoats is never a substitute for an honest effort. And an honest effort always begins with an honest intent. □

M. Hallaj

THE EXPLOITATION OF PALESTINIAN WORKERS UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION

Michal Schwartz

[The following article, translated into English by Dr. Israel Shahak, is a portrayal of the exploitation by Israel of Arab workers from the occupied West Bank and Gaza. It was published originally in Hebrew by Derekh Hanitzotz, 17 February 1986.]

Soon after the 1967 war, the Arab labor force from the West Bank and Gaza became a massive phenomenon in Israel. It consists nowadays of about 36 percent of the work force in the territories and about 6 percent of the total work force in Israel. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics the total number amounts to 90,000–100,000 workers.

Over the years, hundreds of thousands of workers from the territories have worked in Israel for variable periods of time. What is the official legal status of these workers?

The Israeli Government classifies workers from the territories as “non-resident workers.” Israeli economic legislation as well as the income tax and social security laws make a distinction between “resident” and “non-resident” workers. The justification is that “these systems are intended to serve inhabitants who live and work within the borders of the state by responding to their individual and family needs on the economic, social and national levels.” Therefore, [Palestinian] workers from the territories do not qualify for most of the social benefits accorded Israeli workers under the Social Security Law, such as retirement, disability and unemployment benefits. This situation is one of the main arguments against the annexation of the territories with their inhabitants.

Yet, according to a 1970 governmental decision, every Israeli employer must withhold and collect full deductions for income tax and social security from Arab workers resident of the territories, even though they do not enjoy these benefits. This practice is justified by the desire to prevent preference among Israeli employers for Arab workers over Israeli workers as a result of the cheaper cost incurred in hiring workers from the territories. Mind you, all this concerns workers who go through labor agencies operated by the Israeli Ministry of Labor. But many workers prefer, or are forced, to sell their services in the illegal “slave market.”

This practice has enabled the Israeli government to collect, throughout the last 18 years, large sums of money from workers residing in the territories. This robbery is being committed in the name of preventing discrimination against Israeli workers. Not only are workers from the territories deprived of the benefits for which they are contributing, but they also face discrimination in their working conditions, their wages and the way in which they are treated. [Arab workers] suffer arbitrary dismissals without compensation and are subjected to harassment by security forces on their way to and from their work place. They have no protection whatsoever from the arbitrary treatment of employers and security officers, not to mention the soldiers manning roadblocks throughout the occupied territories.

In addition, each worker from the territories who works a minimum of 10 days a month must pay 22 New Israeli Shekels to finance “health services” in the territories. In



fact, there are no “health services” in the territories. Trade unions which develop their own health services are denied access to these funds contributed by the workers.

What does Israel do with all these sums of money it has been collecting from Arab workers in the occupied territories? According to Shlomo Amir, advisor to the Minister of Labor and Welfare, these sums are “transferred to the Israeli Treasury and serve to finance the social and economic development of the territories.” In other words, these sums are transferred to the military and civilian administration and contribute to strengthening the occupation apparatus, the settlements and the disgraceful exploitation of the workers.

In the early phase of Israeli occupation, these funds became a source of contention between the Labor and the Defense Ministries, each claiming jurisdiction over the funds. In the end, the Ministry of Labor prevailed, having proven that it has the mechanism to transform the workers from the territories into a mobile labor force in order to “fill in,” as needed, the demands of Israeli industry while preventing any competition with Israeli workers.

According to Israeli law, Arab workers from the territories must seek employment through the 30 Israeli employment agencies located throughout the territories. They are placed in specific jobs according to the needs of Israeli industries. Requests for Arab labor are submitted to the agencies in the territories only after failing to fill these vacancies by Israeli workers. Workers from the territories do not receive their wages directly from Israeli employers since the latter transfer the wages to the employment agencies which pay the workers after withholding deductions for income tax, national insurance and taxes for the Histadrut.

In fact, despite complaints of unemployment by Israeli workers, there is no reduction in the number of requests for Arab workers processed by the employment agencies in the territories. This is so because Israeli workers hardly ever agree to work under the same conditions as workers from the territories preferring unemployment benefits instead. As a result, the stratification of the Israeli working class today is such that at the very bottom, one can find the unskilled Arab labor from the occupied territories; the top is occupied by the highly skilled and well-paid jobs reserved for Jews only; while in the middle, one finds civil service and banking jobs which are also closed to workers from the territories.

When unemployment rises drastically, Israeli employers submit fewer orders to the employment agencies in the territories, which in turn assign less workers to jobs in Israel. These trends do not show in the unemployment statistics since workers from the territories are not entitled to unemployment benefits and consequently are not included in Israeli unemployment statistics. No wonder Israel can boast a low rate of unemployment!

Dr. Michael Shalev, a sociologist at the Hebrew Univer-

(continued on page 3)



EXPLOITATION (continued from page 2)

sity in Jerusalem, claims that under such circumstances the number of workers from the territories working in Israel tends to increase rather than decrease because more of them go through the "slave market" instead of the employment agencies. In the "slave market" the worker has absolutely no rights, no guaranteed wages and faces stiff competition from other workers who are in desperate need for work. Moreover, because of the tenuous legal status of these workers, they are often exposed to harassment and danger such as denial of wages upon completing their jobs or facing life threatening situations in cellars where employers lock them up at night. Yet, according to Shalev, over 50 percent of Arab workers from the territories seek employment in Israel through the "slave market" rather than the employment agencies. Bad news for the Labor Ministry, good news for Israeli employers!

The Histadrut, Israel's largest labor organization, is another beneficiary to the deductions withheld from Arab workers. Initially, the Histadrut attempted to lay claim to the whole fund, however, it ended up settling for 1 percent of the wages of all Arab workers employed in Israel, deducted directly from their pay as an "organization tax." In return, the Histadrut was expected to perform two tasks:

1. To give the workers from the territories all the rights deriving from collective wage agreements such as disability, vacation, pension, etc....

2. To protect the rights and wages of these workers as stipulated in a 1970 Histadrut decision that, "Every worker from the territories working in Israel shall enjoy the protection of the trade union and thus his rights shall be guaranteed...."

It is no secret that the funds collected by the Histadrut amount to great sums, yet its obligations toward the workers have remained unfulfilled. In fact, the Histadrut has become an active partner in the exploitation of workers from the territories with vested interest in the status quo. As for rights deriving from wage agreements: while these rights are granted automatically to Israeli workers, they are extended to workers from the territories only if the latter request them. According to Amir, there are only a few hundred such workers who are aware of their rights and demand them....

On the whole, the Histadrut is a partner in this conspir-

acy with employers and the authorities. It defends substandard wages paid Arab workers by arguing that "It's for their own good!" Their wages are low enough to make sure that "Jews won't take their jobs thus forcing them into unemployment and pushing them into terrorist activities!!!" Thus, the Histadrut contributes to the legitimization of institutionalized apartheid practices which have transformed the occupied territories into Bantustans. The Histadrut helps maintain an illegal situation by failing to support Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, on one hand, and failing to oppose the employment in Israel of Arab workers from the territories on the other....

Like the government and the military administration, the Histadrut does not recognize [Palestinian] trade unions operating in the West Bank [and Gaza]... The Histadrut views the organization of Arab workers in the territories into independent national organizations as a danger to continued Israeli occupation and to its own economic interests. But neither the Histadrut nor the military administration...are able to offer a solution for the workers of the occupied territories... The exploitation of these workers brings easy gains to Israeli employers in the short term but it will turn into a political boomerang in the future. □

SPECTER OF UNEMPLOYMENT HAUNTS PALESTINIANS

[This article on Palestinian unemployment under Israeli occupation was published originally in TANMIYA (August 1986), a periodic newsletter issued by the Welfare Association in Geneva, Switzerland.]

An increasing number of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza—and of Palestinian Arabs in Israel—are joining the ranks of the unemployed. The deteriorating economic situation of the occupied territories means no prospect of work in sight. And unemployment is striking the ranks of laborers and professionals alike.

Estimates of unemployment in the West Bank and Gaza show that local employment declined from 153,000 in 1970 to 144,000 in 1983; the number was stagnant in the West Bank at about 99,000 during this period, whereas it dropped in Gaza from 53,000 to under 46,000. During the 1970s, Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza found outlets in Jordan and in the rest of the Arab world and sent money to their families who remained at home.

Many were also forced to find work in Israel because of the pressure on land and water resources and the lack of industrial development. The number of Palestinian workers in Israel from the occupied territories reached about 88,000 in 1983, with some estimates putting the figure closer to 100,000.

In all, some 40% of the West Bank and Gaza labor force was estimated to be working outside the two territories. With the recession in the region, external outlets are shrinking in the face of West Bank and Gaza labor. No one knows what the figures on unemployment actually are. For instance, the "official" unemployment figure for Gaza is said to be lower than the West Bank's "official" figure of 5.3%, but local trade unionists in Gaza estimate that as much as 20% of the Strip's 70,000-strong total labor force is unemployed.

The extent of public interest in and debate of the issue shows the impact it has had. Local magazines and newspapers carry lengthy articles on the problem and interview unemployed workers. Workers are still forced to seek work in Israel in spite of difficult conditions, and the danger of harassment, fines and jail for trying to find work or for spending the night where they work to save on the lengthy journey to and from work. There are also complaints that local employers have been firing employees and rehiring others at lower wages, taking advantage of the surplus on the market.

Unemployment Among Graduates

The rising problem of unemployment among Palestinian graduates is also a focus of concern. It is estimated that there were around 15,000 unemployed graduates by the end of 1985. Of some 6,500 graduates annually from West Bank and Gaza colleges and universities, it is estimated that as few as 20% may find work related to their qualifications.

The Jerusalem-based Arab Graduates Club conducted a study in 1984 on unemployed graduates in the West Bank and Gaza who had registered their names with the Club. It reported a total number for 1983 and 1984 of some 12,000 graduates. In 1984 alone, 8,054 unemployed graduates from the West Bank and 2,512 graduates from Gaza had registered their names with the Club, with the biggest number in the West Bank coming from Nablus.

Of the West Bank unemployed graduates registered in 1984, 5,149 held diplomas, 2,851 held BAs, 46 held MAs and 8 held PhDs. The majority had majored in business administration (2,432), followed by arts (2,143), engineering (1,030), sciences (960), education (499), Sharia (478), pharmacy (296), agriculture (116) and law (100). Of the Gazans, 1,395 held BAs and 1,117 held diplomas. The majority had majored in arts (1,072), business administration (385), sciences (322), engineering (197), education (182), law (165), Sharia (129), medicine and pharmacy (53) and agriculture (7). Many had been unemployed for some years.

A seminar on the subject was held last April, organized jointly by Najah University and the Arab Graduates Club, and it was noted that the stagnant growth of the economy and of basic services under the occupation had played a major part in unemployment. In a paper on unemployment among doctors, examples were given of the downgrading of health services. It was noted that the number of hospital beds in the West Bank had fallen from 1,023 in 1968 to 974 in 1984 (in Israel, by contrast, the number of beds rose from 14,313 to 26,400 during the same period). Among the suggestions for solving the problem was setting up health centers in villages that would both serve the villagers and absorb unemployed doctors.

In Gaza alone, the number of unemployed doctors was said to be about 200 two years ago, with another 50 graduates in dentistry, pharmacy and veterinarian medicine also unemployed. There were no opportunities for doctors in existing hospitals or clinics, and they lacked the funds to open their own clinics. The result was that many of the doctors had sought and found work abroad, leaving 30 unemployed doctors, and 25 unemployed dentists and vets. It was pointed out that this would create a problem in the future when doctors presently employed retired and there was no one to replace them, particularly as the



number of Gazans studying medicine had dropped because of restrictions on admissions in Egyptian universities.

Palestinian Arabs in Israel

The unemployment situation among Palestinian Arabs in Israel is also cause for concern. Although they are legally citizens of the state, their situation in some respects is not all that different from Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza seeking work in Israel. The problem of unemployed Palestinians in Israel is being referred to as a "time bomb."

In Nazareth and the surrounding region, for example, unemployment was said to have risen by 100% from 1983 to 1984. Palestinian Arabs seeking work by the end of 1984 were estimated to number 4,465. In February 1986, the number of those entitled to register for unemployment benefits rose to 3,076 from 2,056 in November 1985. Various observers agree that the real unemployment figures are much higher since many workers are not entitled to benefits, and workers' council sources say that as much as 20% of the town's work force may be unemployed.

In Acre, the number of those seeking work reached 1,200 by May 1986, compared with 740 the previous year. The officially registered unemployed in Acre numbered 470 compared to 270 the previous year. Arab papers often report on factory closures, and carry interviews with unemployed Palestinians queuing outside unemployment offices. Unemployed workers complain that they have to spend what little money they have on transport to reach labor offices. □

North American Academic Freedom Network Formed

In the summer of 1985 the Palestine Human Rights Campaign sponsored a trip for a group of American academics to study the issue of academic freedom in the Israeli occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Subsequently these academics, together with PHRC, initiated *North American Academics in Solidarity with Palestinian Universities (NAASPU)*. The purpose of NAASPU is to acquaint the university community with the conditions under which Palestinian faculty and students are forced to function due to the Israeli occupation.

NAASPU publishes:

- *Education Under Occupation*, a quarterly Newsletter. Spring and Summer 1986 issues available.
- *Universities Under Occupation*. Background and analysis by Drs. Philip Schrodt and Deborah Gerner, Northwestern University.
- *Palestinian Universities Under Israeli Occupation: A Human Rights Analysis*, by Dr. Robert Ashmore, Marquette University.

To order please send postage costs (donations accepted) to: NAASPU, 220 S. State St. #1308 Chicago IL 60604 (312) 987-1984

ARAFAT AT NONALIGNED SUMMIT Renews Call For International Peace Conference

In his address before the Eighth Conference of the Nonaligned Movement on 4 September 1986, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat conveyed his congratulations, on behalf of the Palestinian people, to members of the Nonaligned Movement which is celebrating its 25th anniversary.

After greeting Chairman Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Arafat cited the personal contribution of great world leaders such as Tito, Nehru, Nasser, Nekruma, Sukarno, Sekou Toure, Makarios and Gandhi to the establishment of the Non-aligned Movement and the advancement of its objectives.

Arafat discussed the major crises faced by the 101 members of the Movement in recent years such as the accumulation of foreign debt, the exploitation of natural resources, and nation-building. He called on his audience to tighten their ranks and increase their coordination and self-reliance in order to meet the common challenge they face which is making them "prisoners of the present world economic order."

In reference to South Africa, Mr. Arafat reminded his audience that, "In the southern part of the continent, the racist regime of Pretoria defies the international community by imposing the harshest possible forms of racial discrimination and apartheid and the most brutal means of repression against the people of South Africa." He added that the racist regime of South Africa also continues its occupation of Namibia denying its people their inalienable rights in violation of the will of the international community, as expressed in UN Resolution 435 which calls for the independence of Namibia.

Arafat called on Nonaligned nations to transform their support for the peoples of Namibia and South Africa into "direct assistance to help them bear the burden of the struggle." He further urged the movement as a whole to continue to exert the necessary pressure "in order to restore balance in the international arena to pressure South Africa."

The Palestinian leader criticized the governments of the United States, Britain and other European countries which have protected the racist regime in Pretoria by placing obstacles in the way of imposing effective economic sanctions against it by the world community.

Arafat also criticized Israel for ignoring all international resolutions by persisting in its extensive economic, military and political relationship with the racist regime of South Africa. This relationship, according to Arafat, includes military coordination, exchange of intelligence information, and development of nuclear weapons which have been introduced into the African continent.

In his comments, the PLO Chairman equated Israel with South Africa in terms of their common disregard for the

will of the international community and their aggressive policies toward their neighbors, including such practices as "hot pursuit" and "scorched earth." Arafat also compared the two racist regimes in terms of their domestic practices of terrorism and racial discrimination against the native inhabitants and owners of the land. He specifically mentioned Israeli expulsion of Palestinians from their homeland and denial of their inalienable rights of return, self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state—all of which are sanctioned by the international community.

Arafat condemned U.S. support for both Israel and South Africa as contributing to the continuation of their arrogant and intransigent policies. He further added that continued American support is liable to increase their intransigence and aggression.

Arafat then directed the attention of his audience to the historical pattern of Israeli aggression and persecution of Palestinians under occupation. He also pointed out recent trends in Israeli oppressive practices aimed at completing their control over Arab lands through an intensive and unrelenting campaign of harassment, discrimination and economic strangulation. Yet, in spite of this campaign, the Palestinian people "stood in steadfastness and will continue to do so throughout their places of residence."

The failure of Israel and the United States to create an alternative leadership to the PLO, according to Arafat, has led to new plans for West Bank development and functional partition with Jordan. However, the Palestinian people under occupation has resisted these "dubious projects" and has taken a unified stand against them under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Arafat insisted that "all attempts to divide our people inside and outside the occupied territories have failed."

On the subject of ongoing Palestinian negotiations to restore national unity, Arafat thanked President Chedli Ben-Jedid of Algeria for his initiative and continued efforts to reconcile different Palestinian factions and to host the anticipated Palestine National Council (PNC) session in Algiers.

Finally, Arafat reaffirmed the commitment of the PLO to participate in an international peace conference with all parties to the conflict in conformity with UN Resolution 38/58 C, with the purpose of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Arafat further welcomed the Soviet-French initiative in this regard which calls for establishing a preparatory committee to study "all the terms of reference of the international conference, its mandate, conditions for participating in it, its agenda and its proceedings."

"The Palestine Liberation Organization," Arafat added, "believes that the achievement of a comprehensive and just solution to the Palestine problem, and the establishment of peace in the area will be reflected positively in the interests of all states in the area as well as in the interest of peace, security and detente throughout the world." Arafat concluded that the "Palestinian people will continue their just struggle by all legitimate means to regain their national inalienable rights and put an end to Israeli occupation of our homeland through the establishment of an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital." □

NONALIGNED NATIONS SUPPORT PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

Resolution Endorses Statehood and Just Struggle

[The 8th Summit of Nonaligned Nations, convened in early September in Harare, Zimbabwe, expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people and support for their just struggle for national rights. Following is the text of the resolution, adopted on 6 September 1986]:

Resolution on Palestine

□ The heads of states and governments reaffirm that the Nonaligned Movement had undertaken to support the Palestinian people's just struggle for the liberation of their homeland and the restoration of their inalienable national rights.

□ The heads of states and governments stress that a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. The Nonaligned Nations give full support to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homes, the right to self-determination without external interference, the right to national independence, and the right to establish a sovereign independent state in Palestine, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and its relevant resolutions.

□ The Nonaligned Movement reiterates its firm support for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The movement affirms the absolute right of the PLO alone to represent the Palestinian people. It also affirms the right of the PLO to participate on an equal footing, in conformity with international law, in all international efforts and conferences aimed at securing and exercising the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

□ The Nonaligned Nations reiterate their full adherence to the principle of noninterference in the internal and external affairs of the Palestinian people and the right of the PLO to free and independent decision making.

□ The heads of states and governments condemn the campaign waged by the United States and Israel to destroy the infrastructure of the PLO and eliminate Palestinian freedom fighters. They also condemn U.S.-supported Israeli military aggression against the PLO and its host countries, such as the raid on PLO offices in Tunisia.

□ The Nonaligned Conference stresses that the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as specified by U.N. General Assembly Resolutions 3236 of 22 November 1974 and ES 7/2 of 29 July 1980, and the full, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, is liable to restore legality in international relations, to strengthen democracy, and to establish peace and stability in the Middle East.

For this purpose, the heads of states and governments

reiterate their call for the speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983, and for convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, stressing the fundamental responsibility of the Security Council in facilitating this conference and making the necessary institutional arrangements to guarantee the enforcement of all agreements reached at the conference.

□ The heads of states and governments express their deepest concern over the conditions in Palestinian refugee camps in zones of armed conflict emanating from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. They reiterate the necessity of safeguarding the security of these Palestinian refugees.

□ The heads of states and governments condemn Israel for denying the Palestinians their inalienable right to return to their homes and properties in Palestine and preventing them from exercising their inalienable rights.

□ The heads of states and governments express their concern over depriving the Palestinians and other Arabs living in the territories occupied by Israel of all forms of legal protection thus exposing them to arbitrary legislation, "iron fist" rule, capricious arrest, torture, deportation, demolition of homes—all of which constitute a clear violation of their human rights and of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

□ The heads of states and governments reiterate their rejection of all Israeli practices and policies aimed at changing

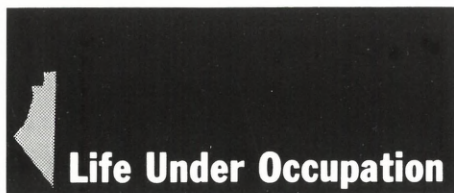
the geographic characteristics of Palestinian and other Arab occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and Israel's attempts to alter the demographic makeup of the territories, particularly Israeli plans to change and relocate Palestinian refugee camps. The Nonaligned Nations appeal again to all nations not to recognize the legitimacy of these changes and to cease all cooperation with Israel which might encourage it in pursuing policies and practices which are in violation of Security Council resolution 465 of 1980.

□ The heads of states and governments reaffirm their adherence to the resolutions adopted by the Nonaligned Summit held in New Delhi on 7-12 March 1983, which urged the Nonaligned Nations to take measures to effect a boycott of Israel, including military, economic and diplomatic relations as well as air and sea links.

□ The heads of states and governments condemn all acts violating the sanctity of the holy places within Palestinian and other Arab occupied territory, and express their full support for the pertinent resolutions of the Islamic Conference Organization.

□ The heads of states and governments reiterate their support for the Arab peace plan adopted by the twelfth Arab Summit at Fez (2-16 September 1982) and reaffirmed by the emergency Arab Summit of 7-9 August 1983 at Casablanca. They further express their support for all Arab and international resolutions adopted in support of that peace plan. □





Life Under Occupation

ILLEGAL HEALTH CARE?

Gaza Doctors Ordered to Stop Voluntary Work

The Israeli military governor of the occupied Gaza Strip ordered a group of Palestinian doctors to stop providing free health care to poor refugee families. Accompanied by Israeli soldiers, he raided Jabalya Refugee Camp on 18 July and ordered the doctors, who had been using a private home in the camp to see their patients, to leave the house and prevented the patients from entering it.

The doctors belong to the Gaza Medical Relief Committee, a charitable voluntary association of Palestinian doctors and nurses who volunteer their spare time to give free medical care to needy refugees. They see their patients in private homes because the association has no clinics of its own.

Some of the volunteer doctors have been accused by the Israeli occupation authorities of violating their contracts by providing service in the camps, since they are on the staffs of government hospitals. The doctors say that the accusation is baseless, because they do not charge for their services, which they give voluntarily and without pay and strictly for humanitarian reasons.

The Jerusalem-based *Al-Fajr* newspaper quoted two American lawyers, Barbara Harvey and Lennox Hinds, saying that the Israeli action violates international law regarding the provision of needed medical service, under the Geneva Convention, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights, which recognize medical care as a basic human right.

The Palestinian publication said that Israel's behavior contradicts its professed concern for "the quality of life" in the occupied territories. It said that what bothers Israel is that the Palestinians have created a

ANALYSIS... INDISCRIMINATE REPRESSION

During the first years of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli occupation was almost invariably described in the U.S. media as "humane" and "enlightened." A military occupation, of course, is never humane or enlightened, because by definition it is the forceful subjugation of one people by another. It is always coercive and based on fear.

One hardly hears such absurdities anymore. Israel's military rule of the West Bank and Gaza has been too ruthless—in its aims and means—to conceal its reality indefinitely. However, there are still those who think that Israeli repression is selective and victimizes only those who threaten Israel's security. Very few people realize how comprehensive and indiscriminate that repression is.

A recent survey of Palestinians in the occupied territories (see story on page 8) showed that only 6.3% of the respondents and members of their immediate families had escaped Israeli repression and harassment. A question about which form of Israeli repression the respondent and his/her immediate family have experienced, produced the following results:

- 47.5% = *political arrest*
- 50.7% = *beatings, physical abuse, or threats*
- 55.7% = *harassment or direct insults at military checkpoints*
- 22.8% = *property or land confiscation*
- 34.1% = *ban on travel*
- 74.2% = *curfew*
- 17.6% = *demolition or sealing of homes*
- 15.7% = *deportation or town arrest*
- 37.6% = *fines by military courts or any other direct harassment*
- 6.3% = *have not experienced any of the above*

It is not possible to infer from this data anything except that Israeli repression of Palestinians in the occupied territories is comprehensive and indiscriminate. If Israel only punished and harassed people involved in acts of resistance against it, then more than 90% of the population 15 years and over (who made up the sample) have been fighting the occupation. It would not have lasted this long. If one-tenth of those who have been oppressed by Israel have been resisting it, there would be no Israeli occupation.

Israeli repression has little to do with Israeli security. It is inspired by Israel's ambition to rid itself of an unwanted native population to facilitate the absorption of their land in its dominions. People who still believe that the quality of life in the West Bank and Gaza can be improved under Israeli occupation need to ponder this fact. □

system of self-help through voluntary service to the community, something which runs afoul of the occupation policy of increasing Palestinian dependence and helplessness.

The Israeli newsletter *News From Within* (12 August 1986) said that the 60-80 Palestinian physicians affiliated with the Medical Relief Committee in Gaza were responding to appalling health conditions in the Jabalya Refugee Camp, where the military government provides no medical service to the 60,000 inhabitants. It said that 85 percent of the camp's population are infected with intestinal para-

sites; 36 percent suffer from amoebic dysentery; 11 percent have infectious hepatitis; and 33 percent have urinary tract stones. It attributed the problem to poor sanitary conditions in the camp.

Volunteer medical relief committees also exist in the occupied West Bank. Their services are also offered when needed to the inhabitants of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. □

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PALESTINIAN OPINION

New Public Opinion Survey in the West Bank and Gaza

Since Israel occupied the rest of Palestine in 1967, all moves to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict have centered around the fate of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Ideas on Arab-Israeli peace, regardless of their source, have considered the future of the occupied territories the key to peace in the Middle East.

In view of this fact, it is remarkable how little attention has been paid to public opinion in the West Bank and Gaza. Everyone tried to influence it, but no one felt the need to measure it or understand it. The most notable exception was a public opinion poll conducted for *Time* magazine in May 1982. But many events have transpired since then: the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the split in the PLO, the Jordanian-PLO agreement and its subsequent collapse, the Reagan Plan and the Arab Fez Peace Plan, among others. For this reason, a survey of Palestinian public opinion in the occupied territories becomes particularly significant.

Recently, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and the Jerusalem-based *Al-Fajr* weekly cosponsored a scientific study, which was undertaken between 28 July and 8 August 1986. It was based on a random sample of 1,024 respondents distributed between the West Bank and Gaza in proportion to their respective populations. It was done under the supervision of two academics, one Palestinian and one American: Dr. Mohammed Shadid, professor of political science at Najah National University in the West Bank, and Dr. Richard Seltzer, professor of political science at Howard University in Washington, DC. In a press conference held on 8 September in Washington, professors Shadid and Seltzer released the findings of their study.

Poll Results

The questionnaire used for the survey was designed to discover Palestinian public opinion on the fundamental issues regarding the Palestine question and the Arab-Israeli conflict. These include the

question of Palestinian representation, the relative popularity of principal PLO leaders, attitudes toward the peace process, and views regarding the use of violence in the Palestinian struggle for national rights.

The PLO and Arafat: The overwhelming majority (93.5%) of the respondents consider the PLO "the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Only 14% of the remaining 6.5% (or less than 1% of the total sample) said that Jordan represented the Palestinians. Among the various leaders of the PLO, Arafat was by far the most popular (with 78.6%). None of the others received more than 5.6%.

Palestinian State: Most Palestinians (77.9%) prefer the establishment of a "democratic secular state" where Muslims, Christians and Jews coexist in one state as a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. As an interim solution, a plurality (49.7%) agree to a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. Only 1% identified "a Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza linked with Jordan" as their preferred solution.

Resolution 242: The Palestinians in the occupied territories share the PLO position on Security Council Resolution 242. The overwhelming majority (80.6%) do not consider it adequate as a basis for resolving the Palestine question. Only 6.8% of the respondents opposed 242 because it requires recognition of Israel. Most people (56.8%) said they opposed it because it did not recognize the right of the Palestinian people to national self-determination or (33.4%) because it did not deal adequately with the Palestine question [the resolution deals with the Palestinians as refugees].

Peace Process: The majority of Palestinians feel that both the United States (60.8%) and the Soviet Union (59.6%) can play a helpful role in the peace process. But only 3.4% believe that the U.S. had in fact played a positive role so far. A large majority (73.9%) is pessimistic about the desire of the Zionist establishment for peace, and see little difference in this regard between the Labor party and the Likud. Only 5.3% blame Yasser Ara-

fat for the breakdown of the Jordan-PLO agreement. Most of them attribute it to King Hussein (32.9%) and the United States (37.9%).

Violence: Most Palestinians in the occupied territories (83.0%) see "armed struggle" as an essential part of their struggle for self-determination. However, they distinguish between "armed struggle" and "terrorism" involving attacks on innocent civilians. A minority (20.7%), for example, said that "placing a bomb in a civilian airliner" would be a justified act. Palestinian leaders whose groups have been accused of violent acts against civilian targets received extremely low rating in popularity questions (Abu El-Abbass, 0.4%).

Conclusions

The survey reveals two significant facts about Palestinian public opinion in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip:

1) It confirms prevailing Palestinian loyalty to the PLO and its constitutional leadership.

2) It shows substantial Palestinian popular agreement on the basic issues involved in the Middle East conflict. □

UPCOMING CONVENTIONS

PALESTINE AID SOCIETY

4th National Convention
October 3-5, 1986
Holiday Inn Jet Port
Elizabeth, NJ
CALL: (313) 961-7252

AAUG

19th Annual Convention
November 13-16, 1986
Sheraton Boston Hotel
Boston, MA
"Whither the Arab World"
CALL: (617) 484-5483

UNITED HOLY LAND FUND

Annual Convention 1986
November 28-30, 1986
Holiday Inn
Fort Lee, NJ
"Palestinian Institutions
Under Occupation"
CALL: (312) 663-9056



NAZARETH CLERGYMAN FORBIDDEN TO TRAVEL

Israel's Minister of Interior, Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, issued an order on the first of August forbidding a Palestinian Christian clergyman, the Reverend Riah Abu al-Assal, to travel abroad for a period of one year ending 31 July 1987. Reverend Abu al-Assal, who is the Rector of Christ Evangelical Anglican Church in Nazareth, was handed the order by two plainclothes Israeli policemen. No specific reason was given for the ban beyond the vague allegation that his travel abroad "harms the security of the state" of Israel.

Israel radio claimed that the ban was imposed because the Reverend Abu al-Assal had received money from the PLO to distribute as scholarships to Palestinian students. In a press conference held in Jerusalem three days after the ban order, Reverend Abu al-Assal denied the Israeli radio report and described it as a part of an Israeli campaign of harassment against him. "I didn't receive money from Arafat," he said, "and if these allegations were true, then why don't they try me?" He continued to say that he believed that the real reason for the Israeli ban was "to prevent me from traveling abroad to explain the injustices done by the Israelis against our [Palestinian] people and to rally support for our cause."

Reverend Abu al-Assal was scheduled for a speaking tour in Europe, Canada, and the United States. He had appealed the order to the Israeli High Court and petitioned several religious leaders and institutions, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Pope John Paul II, and the World Council of Churches to intervene on his behalf by urging the Israeli government to restore his freedom of movement.

In a statement issued on 7 August, the Progressive List For Peace, an Arab-Jewish political group rep-

resented in the Israeli parliament, said that the travel ban on Reverend Abu al-Assal "is an extreme violation of civil and human rights imposed upon a man who is dedicated to peace and reconciliation between Jews and Arabs, and Palestinians and Israelis." □

SWORDS AND PLOWSHARES IN NAZARETH

Five Palestinians were injured in Nazareth when Israeli terrorists tossed two firebombs at a rally on 6 August. The injured were rushed to hospital for treatment of burns.

The attack could have had more tragic consequences, since the rally was attended by about 20,000 people. The rally was a celebration of the 11th annual voluntary work camp which is attended by volunteers from all over occupied Palestine to help Nazareth with various city projects which the municipality does not have the funds to finance.

Eyewitnesses said that the two bombs were tossed from behind a wall by the occupants of a car which was seen fleeing in the direction of the nearby Jewish town of Upper Nazareth. The bombs were apparently aimed at the platform where community leaders sat during an address by Nazareth mayor Tawfiq Zayyad.

The annual voluntary work camp in Nazareth is held to ameliorate the impact of Israel's apartheid policy toward the Palestinians. The municipalities of Arab cities receive meager allocations compared to Jewish towns, which makes it impossible for them to undertake maintenance and development work. Volunteers make it possible for the city to undertake necessary projects which could not be done without their donated labor. This year, the volunteers completed 52 projects, including the paving of 12 streets, building 11 retaining walls, and improving a number of city parks.

The annual voluntary work camp has also been an occasion for people from abroad to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinian people. This year's volunteers included 14 delegations from Eastern and Western Europe, the United States and Japan. □

PUBLICATIONS BANNED

The Israeli occupation authorities suppressed two Palestinian publications in occupied Jerusalem, ordering them to cease publication "immediately and permanently." The publications concerned are the newspaper *al-Mithaq* and the magazine *al-Ahd*.

The Israeli High Court, to which the Palestinian owners of the publications appealed the ruling, rejected the petition of the owners. In its ruling, the court said that it was convinced that the publications were being supported by an "illegal organization"—the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The owners denied the accusation, but the court denied them and their attorneys the right to see the "evidence" against them.

A French lawyer, Marie-France Schmidlin, and a French journalist, Dominique Vidal, who attended the "trial" (which consisted of a one-minute session in which the verdict was read), told a press conference in Jerusalem on 25 August that the Israeli court ruling was "a flagrant violation of freedom, democracy and human rights." Vidal, who attended the trial with Schmidlin as representatives of a democratic association of French journalists, said "I cannot understand how a newspaper could be killed so easily without relying on factual proof."

The Palestinian press has always been a main target of Israeli repression in the occupied territories. Publications are routinely and severely censored, they are often closed down and forbidden to circulate, and their staffs are frequently detained.

Ban Protested

The U.S. Committee to Protect Journalists (New York) protested the closure of the Palestinian publications. It sent the following cable to the Israeli prime minister on 13 August: "Committee to Protect Journalists protests yesterday's banning of Palestinian daily *al-Mithaq* and magazine *al-Ahd*. We view official unelaborated explanation of security reasons as unsatisfactory and join Palestinian and Israeli journalist associations in condemning the attack on press. Urge immediate reopening." □

COMMENTARY . . .

EQUAL PROTECTION FOR ARAB-AMERICANS

Americans of Arab origin have been subjected recently to various forms of discriminatory treatment by Israel. Those of them who travel to visit relatives or friends in occupied Palestine have found themselves experiencing various forms of harassment. According to the American consulate in Jerusalem, more than 100 Arab-Americans have had their U.S. passports confiscated by Israel upon arrival. Sometimes, their airline tickets have been taken from them, and they have been made to pay U.S. \$2,000 as security that they would leave the country. No other Americans are subjected to such a treatment.

There are two reasons which help explain why Israel dares to infringe the rights of American citizens. First, it had gotten away with the harassment of Arab-Americans before. The U.S. government, in previous cases, had not shown the customary indignation for the mistreatment of Americans in foreign countries. Two, acts of violence and threats of violence against Arab-Americans at home—such as the murders of Alex Odeh and Dr. and Mrs. Isma'il Raji al-Faruqi—have gone unpunished. No one has been punished for any of the series of crimes against Arab-Americans or their organizations.

In view of these facts, perhaps it is understandable if Israel thinks that Arab-Americans do not enjoy the constitutional right which guarantees equal protection of the law to all Americans. It is time for the U.S. government, its law enforcement agencies at home and its consular representatives abroad, to dispel this misconception. It needs to do so with a more vigorous effort to identify and punish those guilty of acts of violence against Arab-Americans, and with unequivocal and firm protests about Israel's discriminatory behavior toward them. The enemies of equal justice for all, at home and abroad, must be made to understand that the U.S. government is not a silent accomplice and does not want to be perceived as such. The U.S. government owes it not only to its citizens of Arab origin, but to all its citizens and to its obligation to defend the constitution and laws of the United States. □

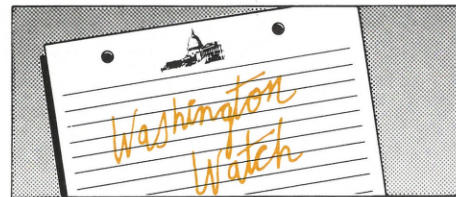
PALESTINIAN CULTURE DAY

The mayor of the nation's capital, Marion Barry, proclaimed 12 September 1986 "Palestinian Folk Culture Day." The proclamation was made on the occasion of a visit to Washington by the Palestinian Folklore Troupe.

James Zogby, the Executive Director of the Arab American Institute in Washington, said in a press release dated 15 September that Mayor Barry "has shown that he is a good friend of the Arab American community" and that "he works for equality and justice for all people." □

NEW BOOKS WORTH READING

- Grace Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War*. Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill & Company, 1986.
- The Evangelical Roundtable, *Christianity and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Jane Hunter, *Undercutting Sanctions: Israel, the U.S. and South Africa*. Washington, DC: Washington Middle East Associates, 1986.
- W. Thomas Mallison and Sally V. Mallison, *The Palestine Problem in International Law and World Order*. England: Longman, 1986.
- Lee O'Brien, *American Jewish Organizations & Israel*. Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1986.



ISRAELI "WAR CRIMINAL" IN WASHINGTON

An Israeli general who was stripped of his command for his role in the slaughter of hundreds of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon has been named as Israel's new military attache in Washington. The general, Amos Yaron, was one of two high-ranking Israeli military men who were reprimanded and forced to resign when an investigative commission found them responsible for the massacre which was described by a resolution of the U.N. General Assembly as an act of genocide. The other person was Major General Yehoshua Saguy who was at the time Israel's military intelligence chief.

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) asked the U.S. government to deny General Yaron entry into this country and to prosecute him if he comes. This request was communicated by ADC in a telegram to Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and Attorney General Edwin Meese III.

ADC Telegram

Both the United States and Israel are parties to the four Geneva Conventions of 1949. Under Article 1 thereof the U.S. has an obligation to respect and to ensure respect for the terms of the Fourth (civilian) Convention. It is an acknowledged fact under the Israeli government's Kahan Commission Report that Major General Amos Yaron was responsible for the massacre of several hundred innocent people in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut in September, 1982, despite the fact that the victims were "protected persons" within the meaning of the Fourth Convention. Hence, Maj. Gen. Yaron is guilty of "grave breaches" under the terms of Article 147 of

(continued on page 11)

WAR CRIMINAL

(continued from page 10)

the Fourth Convention and under Article 146 thereof the U.S. government has an absolute obligation to prosecute Maj. Gen. Yaron for the commission of such grave breaches should he set foot within the U.S. territorial jurisdiction. According to a news report in the *New York Times* of August 2, 1986 Maj. Gen. Yaron has been assigned as military attache to the U.S. government. In order to avoid a diplomatic incident, we respectfully request that Maj. Gen. Yaron be denied admission into the territory of the U.S.

In order to be consistent with the U.S. government's long-standing policy of deporting acknowledged Nazi war criminals, the U.S. must not allow an Israeli war criminal officially recognized as such by an Israeli government commission to enter our territory and to assume and conduct diplomatic functions.

We request a meeting with you to further discuss this matter at your earliest convenience.

(signed)

Abdeen Jabara
ADC President
August 5, 1986

Protest Rally

On 15 September, the fourth anniversary of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, a broad-based coalition of Palestinians, Arab and Jewish Americans and peace activists held a rally in front of the White House to protest the Reagan administration's acceptance of General Yaron as Israel's military attache in Washington. In a press release issued on 12 September, ADC said that it has launched a nationwide campaign of rallies, vigils, letters and telephone calls to alert the American public to General Yaron's complicity in one of the most heinous crimes ever committed against a helpless civilian population.

The appointment was also severely criticized by the Washington Area Jews for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace. In a statement dated 8 August, they described Yaron's appointment as "an offense to the memory of those massacred, and a rebuke to all those seeking a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." □

ISRAEL RAIDS U.S. MILITARY TECHNOLOGY ...AGAIN AND AGAIN

Camera for Long-Range Spying on Neighboring Countries is Latest Case

An Illinois manufacturer of sophisticated aerial reconnaissance cameras accused Israel of trying to steal its technical secrets and deliver them to an Israeli company. The technology in question involves the manufacture of cameras which can take detailed photographs of objects on the ground from a jet flying 100 miles away and transmit them instantly to an earth receiving station.

The U.S. company, Recon/Optical Inc. of Barrington, Illinois, said that the Israelis were caught last May trying to smuggle company documents containing the company's secret technology out of its plant. The company filed a civil suit in a New York federal court against the Israeli government after it had canceled a \$40 million contract signed in late 1984 to manufacture the cameras for the Israeli air force. The company said the Israelis were entitled to the cameras, according to the contract, but they were not entitled to the technology. It accused Israel of intending to deliver the technology to an Israeli competitor, Israel Electric Optical Industry.

The president of the U.S. firm, Larry Larson, said in the affidavit to the federal court that three Israeli officers tried to smuggle 50,000 pages of notes and documents some of which contained the essence of the technology involved. The technology cannot be exported without a U.S. government license.

This attempt to steal U.S. military technology is the fourth known case in a little more than a year. In June, the U.S. federal authorities issued subpoenas and search warrants against several officials of the Israeli Ministry of Defense Procurement Mission in New York in a case involving attempts to obtain illegally U.S. technology for the manufacture of cluster bombs [see *Palestine Perspectives*, No. 24, July/August 1986]. Another case of Israeli theft of American military secrets involved technology for the chrome plating of tank gun barrels, and a case in which more than 800

devices for timing nuclear explosions (krytrons) were smuggled to Israel. No Israeli has ever been punished for responsibility in any of these cases.

At the same time, the U.S. continues to foot the bill for the Israeli garrison, including the cost of its own military technology development. The \$1 billion already spent on the development of the Lavi fighter is an example. In fact the \$40 million contract with Recon/Optical was financed out of the substantial military assistance Israel gets from the United States.

Why Israel Steals

There are two main reasons why Israel is not satisfied with the unparalleled generosity with which the U.S. has been treating it. One, its Zionist ideology causes it to be obsessed with the thought that, sooner or later, the U.S. would abandon it. Zionism teaches that anti-Semitism is an incurable gentile affliction, and that all gentiles would eventually abandon and betray the Jewish state. In preparation for such a day, Israel wants to develop its own capabilities, including military technology, where it can maintain its regional military superiority without outside support. Two, Israel's military industry has become one of its principal economic assets. The acquisition of U.S. military technology would give it a valuable commodity to sell on the world market to shore up its collapsing economy.

There is another possible explanation for Israel's insistence on the illegal acquisition of U.S. military technology even though it has been easy for it to get what it needs by legal means. Legally obtained technology is difficult to divert to third parties on America's black list, such as South Africa. Israel is free, on the other hand, to dispose of stolen technology which it can claim that it has developed independently.

These are the reasons which explain an apparent irony: that Israeli looting of U.S. military technology seemed to have escalated during

the Reagan administration, the most openhanded in its dealings with Israel.

Lack of Deterrence

Finally, it should be mentioned that Israel has been encouraged in its scandalous raiding of U.S. military technology because the U.S. government has proven to be unbelievably tolerant of such Israeli disregard of American laws and national interest. Secretary of State George Shultz in particular bears responsibility for this state of affairs. Under his guidance, the State Department has become the main instrument for covering up Israel's tracks. Under the pretext of safeguarding the U.S.-Israeli "special relationship," he has used the State Department to interfere in law enforcement and to pressure other responsible government agencies, such as the FBI and the U.S. Customs Service, to go easy on Israelis implicated in violating U.S. laws pertaining to the illegal export of military technology and other secrets.

Mr. Shultz has readily accepted Israeli government claims that it was ignorant of the illegal acts of its agents and representatives in the U.S., although subsequent events repeatedly demonstrated otherwise. He has also readily accepted Israeli offers to cooperate in the investigations, although subsequent events again repeatedly demonstrated that the Israeli government's main efforts were aimed at covering up and at closing the files on the investigations. It happened in the krytrons case, in the Jonathan Jay Pollard case, in the tank guns case, and in the cluster bombs case. There is no reason to believe that the fate of the investigation in the reconnaissance camera case would be different.

As long as Israel and its agents in the U.S. continue to enjoy this unique immunity, and as long as they continue to be above the law, they will continue to make a mockery of all U.S. attempts to ensure compliance with the law and respect for U.S. interests. Israel has been dealing with the U.S. as if it were an unguarded rich mine, and as long as it is not deterred, it will continue to do so. □

ARAB-AMERICANS HARASSED BY ISRAEL

An American passport is usually known as a "good passport," which protects those who hold it in most countries of the world. Israel doesn't belong to those countries in which to be an American causes problems with the authorities. Indeed, Americans feel like landlords in Israel, and the huge American military and financial support usually provokes respect for holders of American passports. Unless you are an American of Arab origin. Then, not even an American passport can protect you from Israeli anti-Arab racism.

According to sources in the American Consulate in Jerusalem, more than 100 Americans had their passport confiscated at the Israeli airport. In most cases, the flight ticket was confiscated as well, and these tourists had to leave US \$2,000 as a guarantee that they would leave the country. The common denominator of all these special-class American tourists is their Palestinian origin.

We spoke with some of them, and they all complained about

harassment at the airport, sometimes for more than three hours, and about the fact that they get a tourist visa for only one month while other tourists automatically get a three-month visa.

The American Embassy in Tel Aviv expressed deep concern about this discrimination against American citizens and the confiscation of American passports, which are the property of the American government. An American official in Israel remarked that such behavior from another government towards Belgian Jews, for example, would and rightly so provoke a strong protest from the Israeli public.

Asked about her experience with such discrimination, Attorney Lea Tsemel told us that every year she has to deal with a dozen cases of Americans of Arab origin, who do not even have the right to enter the country and, in many cases, are sent back to the U.S. on the next flight. □

[From *News From Within* (Jerusalem), 12 August 1986]

CASE CLOSED

The U.S. Justice Department withdrew subpoenas to at least eight Israeli officials involved in the illegal smuggling of cluster bomb technology.

The Israeli officials involved are with Israel's military procurement office in New York. A source in the Justice Department indicated that the deal with Israel was reached to avoid an expected conflict over the question of diplomatic immunity for the Israeli officials.

An official of the U.S. Customs Service, which began the investigation, told the *New York Times* (6 August 1986) that "Customs has no information on this [withdrawing the subpoenas] and was not consulted." The official, who spoke on condition that he be not identified, said that the Customs Service was concerned by the Justice Department's decision. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"I think that the tendency to surrender the control of American policy in a crucial part of the world to another state [Israel] is not only a threat to our own security but a threat in the long run even to the security of the state of Israel, to say nothing of the Palestinian and Arab interests in that very crucial region."

George McGovern
American-Arab Affairs
Summer 1986

"...Israel has little incentive to move along the peace road now. So long as Washington will support Israel with its 1967 conquests, Israel might as well rock along with things as they are."

Joseph C. Harsch
Christian Science Monitor
5 August 1986



BOOKS...

ISRAEL: SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC TROJAN HORSE

[Jane Hunter, *Undercutting Sanctions*. Washington Middle East Associates, 1986]

The achievements of the worldwide anti-apartheid movement, including divestment and the boycott of South Africa, are being subverted and rendered ineffectual by a growing and proliferating Israeli-South African partnership. Israel has become South Africa's Trojan Horse. This is the conclusion which emerges from Jane Hunter's report on the substantial and diverse relationship between the world's two remaining settler states.

Although Israeli-South African military and economic linkages have become better known, their extent is still vastly underestimated by published trade figures. Hunter concludes that "the volume of Israeli-South African economic transactions is considerable: even without including hidden arms sales, it is almost five times as much as the published figures cited by Israel's apologists in the United States."

Historic Background

Hunter begins her study with a brief historic survey of Israeli-South African relations, which began even before the state of Israel was established in 1948. She traces that relationship back to 1917, when the future prime minister of South Africa, Jan Smuts, and the future president of Israel, Chaim Weizmann, forged a friendship which was to generate South African support for Zionism and later for Israel. Smuts worked with Weizmann to secure British support for Zionism when Britain endorsed it in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. As early as 1934, South African Jews set up a company (Africa-Israel Investments) to acquire land in Palestine for Zionist colonization. The South African Jewish community continued to be the most enthusiastic supporter of Israel. Ben Gurion said that it contributed more than any other country to Israel's war effort in 1948.

During the 1967 war, South Africa assisted the Israeli war effort by permitting South African volunteers to fight for Israel, by sending it blood from its blood banks, and by removing currency restrictions on financial contributions to Israel.

This relationship was consummated during a 1976 visit to Israel by then prime minister John Vorster, who had spent 20 months in prison during World War II for collaborating with the Nazis. During that visit, Vorster signed a series of military and economic agreements with Israel. As a result, relations between the two countries grew and proliferated, and they have reached a degree where they have become truly partners in repression.

Military Collaboration

Israeli-South African collaboration in the military field has been going on from the earliest days of Israel's

existence. South African contributions to Israel's war of 1948 have been mentioned. By the early 1960s, South Africa was producing Israeli Uzi submachine guns under license. After the Vorster visit of 1976, Israeli-South African military cooperation grew rapidly to include the following:

- 1) Joint development and testing of nuclear weapons.
- 2) Israeli sale of a wide variety of conventional arms to South Africa. It is estimated that Pretoria buys about 35 percent of all Israeli arms exports, making it Israel's best customer.
- 3) Israel has worked with South Africa to establish a sophisticated weapons industry in South Africa.
- 4) South Africa has become a principal investor and partner in Israel's own arms industry through investments and joint ventures.
- 5) Israel has passed on to South Africa military technology which Israel has been stealing from other countries, especially the United States. This possibly includes some of the 800 krytrons (devices for timing nuclear explosions) smuggled illegally from the United States to Israel.
- 6) Israel has been maintaining about 300 Israeli officers in South Africa on a continuous basis to train South African military and security forces.
- 7) Collaboration in the field of intelligence to help South Africa maintain apartheid within its borders and to subvert the opposition abroad. (An Israeli pilotless plane was shot down in 1983 during a South African raid on Mozambique).

Economic Cooperation

South Africa maintains a credit line for Israel to help it pay for its imports from that country. It also supplies it with raw materials (including uranium, diamonds, coal). South African economic ties with Israel also include the following:

- 1) South Africa invests heavily in Israel, and Israel has many investments in South Africa.
- 2) Israel and South Africa have established numerous joint ventures in both countries. Such companies produce a large variety of products, including steel, chemicals, food products, plastics as well as military equipment.
- 3) Israel reexports to the world markets much of the South African products that it imports. Sometimes South African goods are imported as semi-finished products, then they are finished and exported as Israeli goods. Sometimes they are imported and simply reexported under "made in Israel" labels.

The economic partnership is so extensive that many analysts believe that "when *all* trade is taken into consideration Israel may be South Africa's biggest trading partner."

Trojan Horse

The most disturbing aspect of the Israeli-South African relationship, in addition to the fact that the two racist states collaborate to oppress indigenous societies, is that Israel serves as South Africa's Trojan Horse. Through Israel, South Africa frustrates the world community's efforts to put pressure on the apartheid regime in Pretoria. Through Israel, South Africa evades military and economic sanctions and continues to sell its products to the world and to receive what it needs from the world. The Israeli loophole in the front against oppression in South Africa, Hunter rightly points out, is the most important question for concerned people to ponder. □

In Brief

ISRAEL DECREES NEW CRIME

The Israeli Knesset passed a law which makes it a crime for any Israeli to meet with a PLO member. The Israeli publication *News From Within* (12 August 1986) commented that the Knesset's rejection of an amendment saying "with the intent to harm the state of Israel" shows that the purpose of the law is "to make any dialogue between Palestinian nationalists and Israeli peace activists impossible."

PLO MAILING LIST

An Israeli, protesting a law which forbids Israelis from meeting with PLO members, wrote Israel's Prime Minister asking for a list of the Palestinians he is forbidden to meet. I have many Palestinian friends, he said, and I need such a list to obey the law.

ISRAELI DISSENTERS HARASSED

Two members of the Israeli anti-war movement Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit) were summoned for interrogation by the Israeli police. The two, Lieutenant (Reserve) Yishai Menuhin and Private (Reserve) Michael Warschawski, were accused of calling on Israeli soldiers to refuse to serve in the occupied territories. Yesh Gvul members are not pacifists, they all do military service, but they oppose continued Israeli occupation of Arab territory.

TRADE UNION OFFICE CLOSED

The Israeli occupation authorities ordered the closure, for one month, of the Nablus offices of the General Federation of Labor Unions in the West Bank. The closure order, issued on 24 August, charged that unspecified "illegal and hostile activities" went on in the building. This action followed a series of punitive measures against Palestinian trade unionists in the occupied territories.

EX-POLITICAL PRISONER MURDERED

Issa Shamasneh, a former Palestinian political prisoner, was found dead in Israel on 15 August. The Israeli authorities claimed that he was killed by a bomb he was carrying, but family members said they saw a bullet hole under his left breast. Israeli troops dispersed mourners, and only ten members of the family were allowed to be present at the burial. Issa was to be married two days later.

MORE TOWN ARRESTS

A Palestinian journalist and two women trade unionists have received town arrest orders from the occupation army. The journalist, Nabhan Khreisheh, is on the editorial staff of *Al-Fajr*. The trade unionists are Amal Wahdan and Amneh al-Rimawi, both from the Union of Women's Work Committee in the West Bank.

KILLERS PARDONS PROTESTED

There is growing protest in Israel over the presidential pardons of Israel's chief of secret police (Shin Bet) and ten other members of the organization implicated in covering up the beating deaths of two handcuffed Palestinian prisoners on 12 April 1984. It is also believed that Israel's Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who was Prime Minister at the time of the murders, also participated in the cover-up.

SELF-DETERMINATION

A Fundamental Political Right

Self-determination is a legally recognized right of all peoples. Although the right to self-determination has been universally acknowledged in the twentieth century, ten years ago, it was codified in an international convention. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which came into effect on 23 March 1976, began with an affirmation of that right. Below is the text of Article 1 of the Covenant:

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. □

YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW

"When a lobby [AIPAC] stifles free speech nationally on one controversial topic—the Middle East—all free speech is threatened."

Former Congressman **Paul Findley**
They Dare to Speak Out

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RACISM IN ISRAEL HANDLED WITH CARE

New Law Makes it Tough to Prosecute Offenders

The Israeli Knesset finally passed a law on racist incitement. Israeli liberals have been clamoring for a long time for legislation against racial incitement, especially since the election of Rabbi Meir Kahane to the Knesset in July 1984 revealed an alarming increase in racist thinking and attitudes in the Jewish state.

The proposal for anti-racism legislation stumbled frequently on the way, and the proposed bill repeatedly failed to get to a vote. The latest attempt to outlaw racist incitement in Israel took two years to push through the Knesset, and when it finally emerged it came out emasculated and proved to be so lenient on racists that Rabbi Meir Kahane voted for it.

The new Israeli law against racism contains two provisions designed to ensure its impotence. One, it requires proof of intent to incite, and it puts the burden of proof on the prosecution. Two, it exempts from the coverage of the law religiously-based racist expression. The law stipulates that "the citation of Biblical or other sacred text" is never to be used as grounds for prosecution under the law.

This second provision was added at the insistence of religious parties which had strongly opposed the law, arguing that Jewish *Halacha* (religious law) may be characterized as racial incitement. The Is-

raeli publication *News From Within* (20 May 1986) explained it this way: "Their concern was not groundless. The conventional prayers, the Babylonian Talmud and other Torah commentaries are replete with racist expressions. Generally speaking, the attitude [of orthodox Judaism] toward gentiles smacks strongly of contempt and racism." The Association of Torah in Israel, which opposed the anti-racism law, circulated a letter in the Knesset urging members to vote against the law

because "it conflicts with the spirit of the Torah." Rabbi Haim Druckman said that under the anti-racism law, "upholding the *Halacha* will make us criminals."

Thus, the version of the law which was finally approved makes it clear that religiously-based views cannot be included under the law.

Many Israelis believe that Israeli politicians who supported the anti-racism legislation did so not out of concern with growing racism in Israel but for partisan reasons. The politicians, apprehensive about the growing popularity of Meir Kahane and his explicit racist views, wanted a law to curb his political activities.



SWASTIKAS IN ISRAEL found painted on the tombs of two of the best known founders of the state of Israel: Theodor Herzl and Golda Meir.

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